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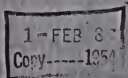
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Apostle of Liberty
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"Where knowledge is a duty, ignorance is a crime."

—Thomas Paine.

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LECTURE BY

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THEORY AND PRACTICE
OF
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Author and publisher: Arthur Harvey, Raymond, N.H.

Price twenty cents postpaid

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Thoreau was required by law to pay a tax for the support of the Mexican War. He thought payment would make him an agent of injustice, and said the best response to such a law is to "transgress it at once".

From that simple situation the term civil disobedience (cd) was born. The simple idea has been developed into new forms, and its practitioners have made traditions which are various and complex. This essay deals with the forms and rationales for cd as applied to modern injustices.

X-JC381

MONARCHY :
Means To What End?

#4

By

LLEWELYN AP ROLAND

ONE SHILLING

THE STRICKLAND PRESS
GLASGOW
1952

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EL DESARROLLO DE LA IDEA DEMOCRATICA DENTRO DE LA ACCION DEL GOBIERNO

CONFERENCIA DEL SEÑOR MINISTRO DE
GOBIERNO, DOCTOR ALBERTO LLERAS
CAMARGO, PRONUNCIADA EN EL TEATRO
MUNICIPAL EL DIA 30 DE ABRIL DE 1936

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32 important books that
every American should read ...

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Against the
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For the DEATH
Of Main Street
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VIZ:

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The Lions Club
The Kiwanis Club
The Optimists Club
and Others

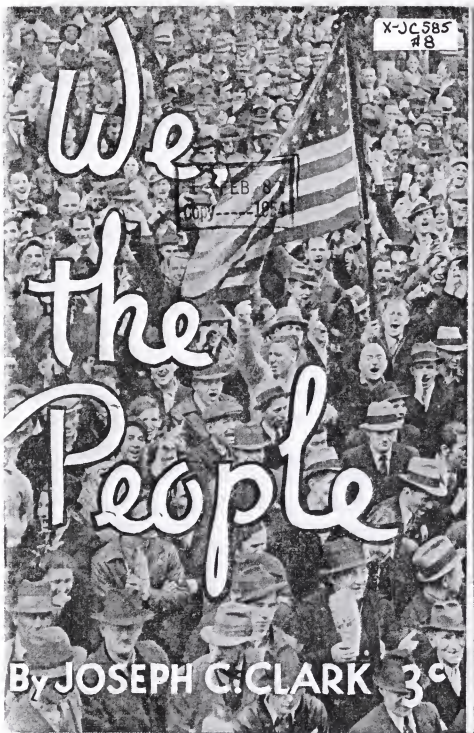


PROFOUND and PROVOCATIVE

By

John F. Raper

Price
\$1.00



X-JC 585

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE #9
INDIVIDUAL

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS

Introductory Note by JOSIAH WARREN



PUBLISHED BY THE FREEMAN PRESS
BERKELEY HEIGHTS, NEW JERSEY

NATIONALE EN #10
PERSOONLIJKE VRIJHEID

*Toespraak,
gehouden tot de eerste-jaars-studenten in
de geneeskunde en in de biologie bij
de hervatting zijner colleges
op 29 Juni 1945*

door
Dr. M. J. SIRKS

J. B. WOLTERS - GRONINGEN, BATAVIA

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
Berlin

June 26-30

2 10 x-JC585
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#11

June 27, 1950

FOR INFORMATION OF CORRESPONDENTS

The attached speech, originally scheduled for delivery by Mr. Hans Thirring at the Congress for Cultural Freedom this morning, June 27, and later cancelled, has been approved for release to correspondents for use as background information and for press quotation. Publication rights are retained by the CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM.

ZUR INFORMATION DER KORRESPONDENTEN

Die als Anlage beigefuegte Ansprache Prof. Hans Thirrings, die urspruenglich heute frueh, am 27. Juni, vor dem Kongress fuer Kulturelle Freiheit gehalten werden sollte, spaeter aber zurueckgezogen wurde, steht den Korrespondenten zur Information und auszugsweisen Benutzung zur Verfuegung. Das Veroeffentlichungsrecht behaelt sich der Kongress fuer Kulturelle Freiheit vor.

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CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
Berlin June 26-30

June 27, 1950

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KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congres pour la Liberté de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

SPEECH

by

Nicolas Nabokov

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Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

SPEECH

by

Nicolas Nabokov

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Congres pour la Liberte de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

SPEECH

by

German Arciniegas

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KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congres pour la Liberte de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

SPEECH

by

German Arciniegas

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#17

KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congres pour la Liberté de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

ADDRESS

by

Sidney Hook

at the Opening-Session

X-JC585

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KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

ADDRESS

by

Sidney Hook

at the Opening-Session

X-JC585

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KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

ADDRESS

by

Ignazio Silone

at the Opening Session

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Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture & Congress for Cultural Freedom

ADDRESS

by

Ignazio Silone

at the Opening Session

X-JC585

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#21

KONGRESS FÜR KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

ANSPRACHE

von

Panayotis Kanellopoulos

bei der Eröffnungssitzung.

#22

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KONGRESS FÜR KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

ANSPRACHE

von

Panayotis Kanellopoulos

bei der Eröffnungssitzung.

X-JC 585

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#23

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KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congres pour la Liberte de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

ANSPRACHE

von

Haakon Lie

bei der Eröffnungssitzung

#24

KONGRESS FÜR KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congres pour la Liberte de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

ANSPRACHE

von

Haakon Lie

bei der Eröffnungssitzung

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#25

KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture - Congress for Cultural Freedom

SPEECH

of

Mr. Jules Romain

at the Opening Session

of the

Congress for Cultural Freedom

in the afternoon of Monday

26th June 1950

at the Titania-Palace, Berlin.

26

#26

KONGRESS FÜR KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture - Congress for Cultural Freedom

SPEECH

of

Mr. Jules Romain

at the Opening Session

of the

Congress for Cultural Freedom

in the afternoon of Monday

26th June 1950

at the Titania-Palace, Berlin.

#27

MESSAGE

The Congress for Cultural Freedom
Berlin, June 1950

Dear Mr. Tasky,

the "Association of Russian Journalists and Writers in the British Zone" asks you to deliver its greetings to the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The steadily growing opinion that co-operation among all freedom loving men must increase is, in our view, the only guarantee for the ultimate victory of freedom. Millions of emigrants have proved by their refusal to return under the dictatorship of the Kremlin their ever present desire for freedom and also that human faith in freedom and justice cannot be broken by terror and violence.

O. ANISIMOW
E. SCHUGAJEW
A. ANDREJEV

Chairmen of the Association
of Russian Journalists and Writers

DRAFT OF "MESSAGE TO THE EAST"

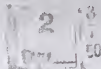
"The writers, artists and scientists who have freely assembled here in Berlin at the international "Congress for Cultural Freedom", feel it essential to state the following truth:

"There is a bond of friendship and mutual respect between the writers, artists and scientists of all nations that no propagandistic misrepresentation can destroy.

"This Congress and this statement is a declaration of international solidarity. It is reassurance that the present major conflict in the world is not a conflict between "East" and "West", between peoples or their cultural traditions. This is a denial of the charge that we, who have met here from many nations and parts of the world, are campaigning against the people of Russia, or the peoples of the Slav areas. On the contrary. We had here with us representatives of all shades of opinion, and from different races, and creeds, and many friends indeed from the Slav nations. This is a call to our friends, our colleagues in all the areas behind the Iron Curtain where the cultural freedom does not exist. This is a pledge of our moral and material support to all those who defend liberty against tyrants. It is the expression of our passionate hope that all will soon be living in freedom, and enjoying again our common universal heritage."

X-JC585

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#29

MESSAGE

The Congress for Cultural Freedom
Berlin, June 1950

My best wishes on behalf of the Pax Movement whose members have, by wearing the Pax sign, taken the visible oath to contribute as passionate peace lovers to the aim that never again shall man be subjected to the state, but the state to man.

My sincere regards to my colleague Robert Montgomery who, by adding his name to the Congress, has set an inspiring example; for the Renaissance that we seek will only be brought about by personal dedication.

VIKTOR DE KOWA

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#30

MESSAGE

The Congress for Cultural Freedom
Berlin, June 1950

It is a matter of very great disappointment to me that I am unable to be with you in Berlin and attend the Congress for Cultural Freedom, but I have the warmest sympathy for the project and wish it success with all my heart.

I believe that we should avoid, in our thinking about the relationship between culture and freedom, any too easy identification of the two. In the past history of mankind, it has simply not been true that political freedom has been the condition of cultural development. Some of the greatest cultures have not known freedom - the Egyptian civilisation, for instance, or the great cultures of Asia. And in our own Western history, periods of very moderate political freedom have coincided with intense cultural revival. We English have only to think of the decline of constitutional government and the growth of Renaissance art and literature under the Tudors. We should therefore beware of saying that this or that country is certain to experience cultural decadence because it does not enjoy our political institutions.

But there are one or two things we can say with the utmost certainty. The first is that Western men has now launched his experiment of political freedom and for him at least every development - social, cultural or economic - must be based on freedom, for otherwise he will betray the fundamental aspiration of his own way of life. To revert to authoritarian methods of cultural or social discipline would be the equivalent of returning, once adult, to the irresponsibilities of childhood.

The second is that although it cannot be said that freedom and culture are necessarily connected, it does seem that totalitarianism cannot be combined with a healthy culture. In the greatest despotisms of the past, great stretches of human existence were left undisciplined and uncontrolled. The Catholic, William Byrd, could sing under the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, and it is obvious that

LONDONER MITTWOCHSKREIS

F. Demuth. 34. Howitt Close. Howitt Road.
London N.W.3. (England)

O. Lehmann-Russbült. 115 Biddulph Mans.
Elgin Ave. London W.9. (England)

Die Unterzeichneten sprechen dem
internationalen "Kongress für kulturelle Freiheit"
in Berlin Juni 1950

ihre warme Sympathie und besten Wünsche für
sein Gelingen und für die Auswirkung seiner
Arbeiten aus. Als ein Kreis von ehemaligen
Emigranten, die während des Krieges an der
Niederwerfung des Nazismus mitgewirkt haben,
betonen wir unsere bleibende und wachsende
Verbundenheit mit den Geschicken der deut-
schen Menschen und unsere Anteilnahme am Auf-
bau eines einheitlichen freien Europas.

F. DEMUTH
O. LEHMANN-RUSSBÜLDT
W. SCHWABE
L. ZEITLIN
L. ENGEL
W.J. ISRAEL
M. ELSAS
O. JOHN
B. REICHENBACH

I wish the Congress all success and a decisive influence on public opinion. The defense of cultural or spiritual freedom without compromise is the most urgent task of our time. A culture can, under certain circumstances, also thrive under a despotic sovereign power, as it was perhaps the case under absolute monarchy in the Age of the Renaissance, under Louis XIV in France, or under Frederic the Great in Prussia. In Czarist Russia too, a great literature of world importance could come to birth. This was possible because, in spite of all political ties, it never entered anybody's mind to frustrate the inner freedom of the creative - of the thinking and the artistic - imagination. But we are now witnesses of a despotism which has never existed before; we are witnessing the effort of the totalitarian state-power to regulate and to control from the outside the creative imagination. This effort can never reach its goal, for a spiritual culture controlled by the state is a contradiction in terms; spiritual creation, as a spontaneous expression of the nature of the human mind, and freedom, are one and the same. But this attempt can paralyze the mind, so that it becomes speechless, whereby the human being will be degraded to an unnatural, spiritless animal.

It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the existence of the human being as a spiritual being, and consequently the existence of human culture, depend on the unreserved recognition of cultural freedom. Totalitarianism threatens the existence of the imagination itself - of the humane in the human being - a danger which earlier ages did not know at all.

Prof. S. Frank

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

MESSAGE

Westmoreland, Virginia
June 9, 1950

The Congress for Cultural Freedom
Berlin, June 1950.

Dear Friends,

What can I say? So much has been said and so little done for freedom in our time. The freedom that our fathers enjoyed was the result of the patient work and courage of thousands of men and women through many centuries. The freedom that our sons may enjoy will result from our constancy, our courage, our understanding and our stubborn daily work for the things that make the greatness triumph over the vileness in mankind. People can help one another in these matters up to a certain point but mostly this is a battle that has to be fought alone, in darkness and without help.

Please accept my best wishes,

JOHN DOS PASSOS

Declaration of Professor Alfred Weber

at the Congress for Cultural Freedom
First Panel Session, Tuesday, 27 June 1950

Greeted by vivid applause, Professor Weber declared:

Ladies and Gentlemen !

In 1947, when I joined Bürgermeister Friedensburg, Professor Geiler and others in a last minute action which was designed to make the splitting of Germany at least spiritually more difficult, I was made a corresponding member of the Berlin Academy of Science. Professor Karl Mitteis who now is in Munich and who also is a member, greeted me with an opening speech in the presence of Professor Karl Bonhoeffer, an old member of the Academy.

I now wish to declare two things here:

I regret that the information we receive in the West is so inadequate that I did not learn of the telegram which the Academy sent to Stalin. It would be most useful if some office were established which would spread such information as accurately as possible. (Call from the audience: The Kaiser Ministry). For myself I must make another declaration here: Since I have learned at this moment of this telegram, I declare that I am resigning from the Academy. (Shouts: Bravo! Continuous applause).

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MESSAGE

The Congress for Cultural Freedom
Berlin, June 1950

I sympathise and support all efforts to
extend and safeguard cultural freedom and wish
the Congress well in furthering this cause.

David Low

#36

The Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Your programme, particularly the 2nd Session, cannot fail to interest any younger writer of today and there is much that I would liked to have said at it. You will, I am sure, appreciate my deep concern for the individual integrity of the artist, if I say that, apart from every good wish for a successful interchange of ideas at your meetings, I cannot commit myself to any more exact statements without being present at the meetings.

27.V.1950

Angus Wilson

X-JC585
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#37

MESSAGE

The Congress for Cultural Freedom
Berlin, June 1950

Friends and Comrades !

Best wishes for a successful sitting of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. There is not a city in the world which is a more suitable place than Berlin for the debates and resolutions of your Congress. I hope that Berlin will remain the door open to the East. The people of Berlin and the people of Moscow will find a common language against Stalin's despotism.

If Berlin remains free, the Russian people will be able to fight for its freedom and win it. Long live the freedom of Russia and Europe !

RUTH FISCHER

MESSAGE

The Congress of Cultural Freedom
Berlin, June 1950

I cannot get over my astonishment at finding scientists, artists, writers, educators, who are in sympathy with the policies of Soviet Russia. The "Iron Curtain" between that country and the freer countries of the West is a thing of shreds and tatters compared with the systematic brutal suffocation of every form of independent intellectual activity within Russia. Freedom of communication is the prime condition of all creative activity. The fountainhead of all tree-sons is loss of faith in the fact that freedom of expression is the one enduring source of any and every form of economic and political freedom. Freedom of inquiry and of expression is the one solid protection against the moral corruption that follows from use of power as final authority. It seems incredible that those professedly occupied with letters, the arts and education should foster this corruption.

JOHN DEWEY

REMARKS FOR THE DISCUSSION

Not only in this Congress but also in other parts of the world much is being said to the effect that there can be no peace without freedom. But another fact is still much more certain and of greater importance, that is the fact that there can be no freedom without peace. Just try to imagine a new world war with atom-weapons were to break out. In that case not only the material foundations of our existence would literally break down, and in an incomparably more terrible measure than during the second world war which was relatively harmless, - but in this total fight for the life or death of two world-systems, every vestige of spiritual and personal freedom would be completely destroyed on both sides of the front.

For this reason I feel obliged to address myself to you with an urgent warning: Do not in your fight for freedom allow your ardour to induce you to endanger peace.

Here is a concrete example.

It would be decidedly welcome if an address were to be sent to the representatives of culture in the East in which a feeling of relationship is expressed. It would however be wrong and dangerous if to such a declaration a promise of liberation were added, as that would certainly be interpreted as a promise of assistance for the abolition of the regime, that is to say for causing a war. In this case the limit between a proclamation of spiritual affinity and a political provocation would be overstepped.

With regard to world-politics in the atomic era a law must be respected which all responsible authorities have already acknowledged: The two social systems of the East and West must live side by side in one world without military antagonism. We must avail ourselves of every opportunity - this congress being one of them - to openly acknowledge this law which in the present hysterical conditions is not plainly self-evident. We may acknowledge this law without necessarily being suspected of a weak policy of appeasement.

KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

DRAFT FOR A MANIFESTO

1. We hold it to be self-evident that intellectual freedom is one of the inalienable rights of man.

2. Such freedom is defined first and foremost by his right to hold and express individual opinions and in particular to hold and express opinions which differ from those of his rulers. Man becomes a slave if deprived of the right to say no.

3. Freedom and peace are inseparable. In any country, no matter under what regime, the overwhelming majority of plain people are fearful of war and opposed to it. The danger of war becomes acute when governments, by suppressing democratic representative institutions, deny to the majority the means of imposing its will to peace.

Peace can only be maintained if each government submits to a twofold control and inspection of its acts

(a) by the people whom it governs

(b) by a supra-national authority embodying sovereign rights of the people of this earth.

4. We hold that the main reason for the present world-wide insecurity is to be found in the policy of governments who, while paying lip service to peace, refuse to accept the basic conditions. Historical experience proves that wars can be prepared and waged in the name of any slogan, including that of peace. Campaigns for peace which are not backed by acts that would guarantee its maintenance are equivalent to counterfeit currency circulated

X-JC 585

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#41

KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congres pour la Liberté de la Culture = Congress for Cultural Freedom

MANIFESTE

adopte à l'unanimité par le Congrès

Berlin, le 29 Juin 1950

X-JC 585

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#42

KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT

Congres pour la Liberte de la Culture * Congress for Cultural Freedom

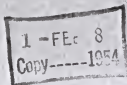
MATERIAL FOR DISCUSSIONS

Mr. 1

Peace Versus Peace

Edited from "The Economist", 27 May 1950

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43

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*Freedom of Thought
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*A Lecture before the Society for Ethical Culture
of Chicago, December 6, 1892*

BY WILLIAM MACKINTIRE SALTER

*Unity Library, No. 13. Monthly, \$5.00 a year. April, 1893.
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CHICAGO
CHARLES H. KERR & CO., Publishers,
175 Dearborn Street

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Of the New York Bar

- 1917 -

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Free Speech and Free Press*

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ROHN ROHN

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Free Speech

By Walter Prichard Eaton

Author, dramatic critic, Associate Professor of
Playwriting, Yale University.

Prepared at the request of the
American Unitarian Association,
March, 1935.

[No. 342]

PUBLISHED FOR FREE DISTRIBUTION
AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION
25 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

Drawn

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#46

A BROADCASTER'S RIGHT TO

Expression of Opinion

New York Conference for Inalienable Rights
1123 Broadway
New York City
Ch-2-1147

September 26, 1941

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FARMERS DRAW UP DEFENSE PROGRAM FOR AGRICULTURE; FOOD CALLED
"MUNITIONS FOR DEFEAT OF HITLER"; LABOR SENDS GREETINGS
AND PLEDGES COOPERATION WITH FARMERS

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#47

Special Release

NEW YORK, Sept. 25 --- More than 400 farm representatives and government officials of the Northeastern area met at a two-day conference ending today to map plans for "the greatest production effort American agriculture has ever made." Secretary Wickard told the delegates that farm products are "munitions for the defeat of Hitler."

The theme of the conference was expressed in the oft-repeated statement "Food will win the war and dictate the terms of peace" which Wickard used in his opening, keynote address. The main objective of the Northeastern conference was to set forth the production goals for essential foodstuffs and to mobilize full agricultural resources in order to achieve the goals.

Similar conferences have already been held at Salt Lake City and Chicago to draft the production goals for those regions; one more conference will be held, it being at Memphis, Tennessee on September 29-30.

For the Northeast region, preliminary goals called for more milk and eggs, increased beef and veal slaughter, increased marketing of chickens, slight increase in hay and rye acreage. Discussion also centered on the possibility of increasing the output of potato and vegetable acreages and on the increasing of farm gardens in order to free production for export use.

Labor Problem A Central Issue

As a result of comments made by Mr. Charles A. Collins, an official of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in New Jersey, the conference devoted a special session to the discussion of labor problems. Many of the delegates indicated that they were having difficulty getting labor on the farms because defense industry was siphoning off the available supply of farm labor. Most of the farm representatives indicated that, if a fair income were received by the farmers, they could compete with defense industry for labor.

However, Mr. Collins took an extreme position calling for a "ceiling on wages", the "outlawing of strikes" as well as priorities on labor, and attack the 40 hour week along with time-and-a-half for overtime. Mr. H. R. Talley, who was chairman of the session and head of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, retorted that the "right to strike is a precious heritage of democracy" and should not be lightly condemned by anybody who opposes fascism.

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* **Essential** **Human Rights**



448

Edited by

WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS, LL.D.

Chairman of the Committee on Essential Human Rights
American Law Institute
Philadelphia, Pa.

and

JOHN R. ELLINGSTON
Member of the Committee

THE ANNALS, JANUARY, 1946

THORSTEN SELLIN, PH.D.
Editor

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PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF APPLIED RELIGION

#49



CLAUDE WILLIAMS, Director

Abolish Hitlerism!

End Intolerance!

Establish Justice!

Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up,
cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people.

— Isaiah 62:10

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Pamphlet
collection

The NEW YORKER 33

JUNE 20, 1936

#50



H.B.

Here is a good
one for you file

Reppy

This is Woolcott Speaking—

"I speak from the heart when I tell you that I know of no other way in which a dollar can be so well invested in the interests of the American people as a dollar put in an envelope and sent to the American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square, West, New York City."

★

(See THE RED NETWORK)

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